1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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the contribution is paid. Like the *chirimiteros*, the *huehuechique* are called upon only for *fiestas* of *santos*.

Two fireworks-makers [*coheteros*]: These men prepare the *castillos* for the *fiestas* of the *santos*, and make rockets [*cohetes*] which are used for any celebration.

Three maskmakers:[1] These men are brothers. The duty of making masks has always been in their family. Before the carnival these three men devote most of their time to making the traditional masks.

Two magicians [*magicos*]:[2] The existence of these specialists was learned shortly before leaving Tepoztlán; nothing is known about them except the identity of the two individuals. "They say they know how to take a woman out of her house against her will."

These two classes of specialists appear to represent two different types of social organization, and the changing relations between them describe the social evolution of Tepoztlán. Occupations of the first class are invariably carried on in order to earn a livelihood. Those of the second class are to a less extent carried on for remuneration. The *chirimitero*, the *huehuechique*, the maskmaker, even the midwife and the herb-doctor, perform their functions because theirs are rôles which the group is accustomed to see them take. The specialists of the first class in many instances acquire their specialties adventitiously. In many cases the storekeeper, the mason, or the carpenter has

[1] These men happen to be *correctos*.

[2] The *magicos* are quite distinct from witches (*brujas*). The reputation of witches is acquired unwittingly and is not enjoyed. Theirs is not a profession.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Of the *curanderos*, four are new and have learned their specialty within the last ten years. Of the two *chirimiteros* referred to by Redfield, one died a short time ago and the other still practices; four have learned their skill within the last six years. The two *huehuechiques* are the same ones of twenty years ago; there have been no new recruits. Of the two fireworks makers of twenty years ago, one has died; the other five are all new in the trade. The three mask makers of Redfield's time are still working, but in addition two sons and a cousin have learned the trade.

At this point we may ask what the prospects are for the survival of these folk specialists in the face of the changes which are taking place in the village. The prospects for the survival of the occupations of mask makers and fireworks makers are very good. The former is dependent primarily upon the Carnaval and the latter upon the barrio fiestas, neither of which shows the slightest signs of dying out. On the contrary, the former has grown in importance and has become an occasion of great spending, while the latter continues unabated and has the active support of the young men, many of whom are comparatively sophisticated.

The prospects for the survival of the *chirimiteros* are not quite as good because their function is gradually being taken over by the modern secular musicians. This tendency can be seen in the center barrios, where, as in Redfield's time, culture changes appeared first in the village. In the last barrio fiesta of San Miguel, in place of the primitive *chirimía*, a fifteen-piece band played from the chapel roof throughout the night. The profession that seems certain to become extinct is that of the *huehuechique*, for this occupation depends on the knowledge and use of Náhuatl, which is rapidly disappearing in the village.[8] An important change in connection with the occupations of *chirimitero* and *huehuechique* is that these specialists are now paid in money; formerly they were compensated with food and drink, another indication of the increasing importance of money.

Prediction in the case of the *curanderos* is more difficult. Most Tepoztecans are not ready to give up their *curanderos*. But they have reached the stage where they are willing to consider the doctor as an alternative, especially in the case of serious illness. Many Tepoztecans now visit private doctors and the Public Health Clinic in Cuernavaca. Certainly the hold of the *curanderos* has become much weaker; they are no longer as busy as formerly, and their income on the whole is very small. There are only two *curanderos* in the village who have great prestige and good income.

This raises the question of the relative desirability of the survival of old institutions in the face of general trends toward modernization. While this problem will be discussed later, it can be pointed out here that a sharp distinction must be made between the social effects of such old institutions as the Carnaval and barrio fiestas on the one hand and the *curandero* on the other. The fiestas, especially the Carnaval, provide much needed diversion for all age groups and tend to unify the village.

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[8] During the time that this was being written, one of the two *huehuechiques* died, and no new recruit has appeared to take his place.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

and brush are then built around the clearing to keep out stray animals that usually graze in these areas. Most *tlacolol* clearings are used two years in succession, and the work of clearing is considerably reduced the second year, although it generally takes 10 to 15 days to clear the milpa of weeds the second year.

Planting: Planting in *tlacolol* begins in May, before the rains. This planting of the corn "dry," as Tepoztecans say, eliminates the danger of rodents getting at it. The corn used in *tlacolol* is a very hardy variety which sends roots out in all directions and which penetrates the rocky terrain. In planting, the *coxala* or *coa* are used.

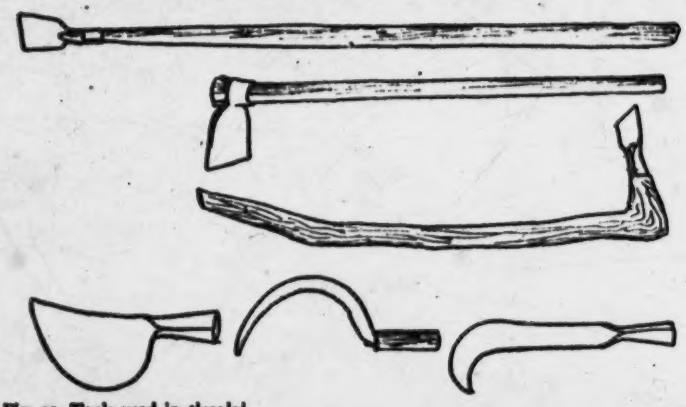

Fig. 29. Tools used in *tlacolol*.

A small hole about four to six inches deep is made wherever there is enough soil, and seeds are dropped in. Every interstitial space among the rocks is used. There are therefore no orderly rows in the planting. Beans and squash may be planted with the corn. A good worker can plant about one-half to three-quarters of a *cuartillo* a day; at this rate it would take about twenty man-days to plant the equivalent of one hectare of corn in *tlacolol*.

Cultivation: Unlike plow culture, there is no cultivation in *tlacolol*, nor is the corn hilled. There is generally at least one weeding which is done about forty days after planting, when the corn is about two feet tall. Weeding is of two kinds. In one kind, the weeds are pulled out by hand, and this process is known as the *tlamaltequa*. This is the preferred process, and it is believed that yields are higher if it is done this way. However, this is difficult and time-consuming. One man can weed about three *cuartillos* per day in *tlacolol* of *texcal* and considerably less in *tlacolol* of *cerro*. If there is some delay on the part of the farmer and if the weeds have grown very tall by the time weeding is begun, the machete is used. (See Fig. 30.)

After the weeding, the milpa is left alone except for occasional visits to check the enclosures. Sometimes night visits will be made and firecrackers will be set

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

off at intervals all night to frighten away the rodents who have been getting after the corn. It is believed that a good fireworks session will keep them away for as long as two weeks.

Harvest: The harvest procedures are very similar to that of plow culture, except that most *tlacololeros* do not transport the fodder because the distances are too long, and it is considered uneconomical. Also most *tlacololeros* are poor and do not own a horse or burro and must hire them.

YIELD

Corn yields in newly cleared *tlacolol* fields are high, much higher than yields in plow culture. A normal yield on a newly cleared plot of *tlacolol* is about two *cargas* for each *cuartillo* of corn planted, and even three *cargas* are not unusual. But the yields decrease very markedly the second year, and most milpas are then abandoned for a new clearing because of the exhaustion of the slight top humus. The yields in *tlacolol* of *texcal* are somewhat higher than those in the *cerros*.

PRODUCTION TIME AND COST

An estimation of the time required in the production of corn in *tlacolol* must take into consideration both the *texcal* and the *cerro* plantings because of the variations within each. Table 36 compares the approximate number of man-days spent on each operation in both types of *tlacolol*.

TABLE 36. Estimated Time Spent in Production of Corn in *Tlacolol*, 1944.

Operation	Man-Days Spent in *Tlacolol* Clearing	
	Texcal (10 *Cuartillos*)	*Cerro* (7 *Cuartillos*)
Clearing with machete and ax	40	21
Fencing with poles	12	20
Burning	8	1
Seeding with *coas*	12	7
Reseeding	4	2
Weeding by hand	30	40
Repairing fence	—	40
	12	8
Transporting corn	10	15
Shelling corn (15 *cargas*)	15	7
Total	143	161

Despite the fact that our sample from the *cerro tlacolol* is a smaller plot, it took thirty-eight days to work it. Taking into consideration differences in the size of